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Friday, 14 April 1995, 10.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

95-85309 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Japan, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Owada (Japan) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/292, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Oman, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The first speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Owada (Japan): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to offer my congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency for April. Japan stands ready to extend its full support as you go on leading the work of the Council. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, the representative of the People's Republic of China, for the excellent manner in which he guided the Council's business during the month of March.

Japan is deeply concerned about the plight of the people of Iraq, who are experiencing severe medical and nutritional problems as a result of the intransigence of the Government of Iraq, which has necessitated the application of sanctions by the United Nations.

It is out of this humanitarian concern that Japan supports the draft resolution which the Council is about to adopt. In the view of my delegation, the draft resolution adopts an appropriate and balanced approach to alleviating the hardships that confront the Iraqi people. Japan wishes to express its appreciation for the efforts of the States that have worked out this draft resolution, and hopes that the Security Council will adopt it by consensus, which will serve the purpose of sending a strong and unambiguous message of the international community to the Iraqi authorities.

Japan urges Iraq to comply faithfully with the terms of the present draft resolution and to cooperate with the United Nations in its prompt implementation.

It should be clearly kept in mind, at the same time, that the well-being of the people of Iraq can be ensured only when the Government of Iraq faithfully implements all relevant Security Council resolutions and makes sincere efforts to rejoin the international community.

The President: I thank the representative of Japan for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): Italy will vote in favour of the draft resolution that is before the Council this morning. We shall vote in favour on the basis of one conviction — that while sanctions are, and remain, one of the most effective tools provided by the Charter of the United Nations to enforce compliance with international law, they should not lead to the extreme consequence of inflicting untold misery and starvation on an entire civilian population.

Indeed, it would be paradoxical if by our actions, we, the peoples of the United Nations, we who take great pride in mounting massive operations to bring humanitarian relief wherever and whenever it is needed,

were ourselves instead to contribute to provoking such suffering. Frankly, an Iraqi child who looks at us from our television screens, with his big eyes made even larger by famine and disease, is no different from a child in Somalia or any other country whom we rush to aid.

Furthermore, the experience of the past shows that sanctions, if applied indiscriminately, tend to rally people around the Government, rather than to mobilize them against it. This, of course, does not mean that sanctions should not be adopted or should not be applied. But to be effective, they should always be applied with caution and parsimony, and, above all, be precisely targeted in order to avoid serious negative side-effects. According to the draft resolution, Iraq will now be allowed to sell about 1 billion dollars' worth of its oil every 90 days. Seventy per cent of this amount will go to meet the urgent food and medical needs of the Iraqi people. The remaining 30 per cent will be used to partially compensate the victims of the Iraqi aggression.

In this way, we believe, at least three important objectives will be achieved. First, the Iraqi authorities will be provided with the necessary financial means, under strict international control, to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people. Secondly, a cash flow will be created in the fund, to be used for the compensation of the many victims — Kuwaitis, Egyptians, Pakistanis, Indians, Sri Lankans, Palestinians and many others — who were deprived of their livelihood and subjected to great hardship. In other words, the Committee on Compensation in Geneva, chaired by Italy, will therefore be able to start to function properly. Thirdly, the many commercial losses to the neighbouring countries will begin to be redressed, starting with the restoration of the Iraq-Turkey pipeline.

After Iraq's formal recognition of the sovereignty and international borders of Kuwait, today's draft resolution is yet another step toward opening the way toward stabilizing the situation in that region, which has already suffered too much too long. It is our sincere hope that Iraq will complete its fulfilment of all the pertinent resolutions so that a situation of normalcy may be restored in the area.

Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to warmly thank the Argentine delegation for its relentless search for a compromise and to thank all others — and they are many — who joined in a common effort to produce a balanced text which does not infringe — I would like to underline this — on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. And our thanks, of course, go also to you, Mr. President, for the determination, the skill and the stamina that you once again demonstrated in leading us to achieve today's important result.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: China's position on the question of Iraq has been consistent. Iraq should continue to cooperate with the United Nations in implementing the relevant Security Council resolutions in a comprehensive and earnest manner. Meanwhile, the Council should proceed to discuss, at an early date, the lifting of the oil embargo against Iraq, on the basis of humanitarian considerations and in the light of Iraq's implementation of the resolutions, so as to truly and effectively ease the humanitarian situation in Iraq and alleviate the suffering inflicted on the Iraqi people by sanctions.

We are of the view that when we address the issues left over from the Gulf crisis, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the political independence of all countries in the region, including Iraq, should be fully respected by the international community. We have noted that this element has been reaffirmed in a few places in the draft resolution before us. We understand that the main purpose of the mechanism proposed in the draft is the easing of the humanitarian situation in Iraq and that this is merely a temporary measure. Once the conditions are ripe, the Security Council should start to consider easing or removing the sanctions against Iraq. Based on this understanding, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

But it must be pointed out that questions regarding the channel of shipment for Iraqi oil exports and the distribution of humanitarian funds to the three northern Governorates of Iraq, as mentioned in the draft resolution, are matters within the purview of Iraq's sovereignty to which a proper solution should be found, in full consultation with Iraq, to ensure the implementation of the mechanism embodied in the draft resolution. While certain modifications and qualifications have been made in this regard, the Chinese delegation still has some difficulties with the elements to which I have referred, and therefore wishes to express its reservations on them.

Mr. Ubalijoro (Rwanda): My delegation decided to co-sponsor this draft resolution for one specific reason: to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people.

Indeed, the machinery provided for in this document is in full accordance with that principle. It is painful for my delegation to sit down and cross its arms while great

numbers of Iraqis seem to be condemned to eternal suffering because of the lack of sensitivity and cooperation of a few.

Moreover, I would like to reiterate that this is a temporary measure to provide for the needs of the Iraqi people until Iraq's fulfilment of all its obligations contained in all the relevant Security Council documents. It is of paramount importance that Iraq comply fully with its remaining obligations in order for the Council to take further positive steps that are in the best interest of the Government of Iraq, and especially its people.

It is in this context that we would like to send an important message to the Government of Iraq.

Needless to say, the international community is not against the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Iraq. Inspired by the great principles contained in the United Nations Charter, we call upon Iraq to adhere to all the moral obligations that all sovereign and peace-loving countries undertake in order to live in a climate of mutual respect, harmony and peace. That is also why my delegation will vote for the present draft resolution.

Mr. Martinez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It has been stated on various occasions in this forum that the purpose of the sanctions provided for in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter is to change the conduct of parties that endangers international peace and security, and not to punish or take other reprisals. It was also made clear, during the consideration of the supplementary document to the "Agenda for Peace", that when the Security Council has recourse to the tool of sanctions, it should attempt to guarantee the provision of humanitarian assistance to the vulnerable groups of society affected by the imposition of a sanctions regime.

My delegation is of the view that a sanctions regime, when effectively applied, is an important tool for restoring international peace and security and is preferable to the use of force for the achievement of the desired effect. But we also feel that when sanctions are imposed one should consider specific measures to mitigate their impact on an innocent civilian population; the longer the sanctions take to achieve their intended effect, the more serious that impact becomes. If there must always be a humanitarian price to pay when sanctions are imposed, one should discuss measures to minimize the harm done to vulnerable sectors of the affected society, such as women, children, the disabled and the elderly.

The decision to impose economic sanctions is taken within the framework of the international legal order. Therefore, account should be taken of humanitarian law, which, as we know, includes norms relating to humanitarian assistance applied to different categories of protected persons.

Economic sanctions are more sharply felt by the civilian population than by those in power. The current situation in Iraq is a clear example of this: the economic sanctions regime imposed on that country because of its invasion of Kuwait has had an adverse impact on the Iraqi population. Seven per cent of Iraq's population — about 1,300,000 people — is at risk, being hardest hit by the consequences of the sanctions regime. Of these, 750,000 are in northern Iraq, in the territory of Kurdistan, while 550,000 are in the central and southern region of the country. All these people require immediate humanitarian assistance.

The draft resolution the Council is preparing to adopt will make it possible to alleviate temporarily the effects of the economic embargo on the Iraqi people and provide for their nutritional and health needs until the Government of Iraq complies fully with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and until the Council decides what action to take in connection with the prohibitions under resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990. In order to implement the draft resolution, we must have the cooperation of the Government of Iraq in the task of equitably distributing humanitarian assistance. We believe that such assistance to all sectors of the Iraqi population must not be hindered, obstructed or denied in any way, shape or form. We therefore urge the Iraqi Government to comply scrupulously with this draft resolution.

My delegation believes that the provisions of this draft resolution are positive, and we are in full agreement with the principles and premises on which it is based, as well as with the temporary system it establishes. We therefore support every aspect of it.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): At the outset, my delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Argentine delegation and the other sponsors for their endeavours in initiating the draft resolution before us, aimed at addressing the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Iraq, which has created concern among the international community.

From the beginning, Indonesia has always believed that producing resolutions on a humanitarian basis is imperative in order to be able to address effectively the human sufferings and misery largely affecting, women, children and the elderly, which have taken on dramatic proportions. We also believe that it is therefore indispensable that Iraq's concerns also be taken into account so that this humanitarian tragedy may be addressed adequately and effectively.

Like others, Indonesia is deeply concerned over the worsening humanitarian situation in Iraq, as clearly reflected in the latest reports of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as well as in the recent report made by an official of the Emergency and Humanitarian Aid section of the Netherlands Ministry for Foreign Affairs who had visited central and southern Iraq. The situation in those areas can be described only as a humanitarian tragedy, with young children, in particular, suffering from the effects. Therefore, the needs are enormous, and aid is urgently required in order to ameliorate the situation and keep the number of victims of this tragedy as low as possible.

We welcome the cooperation demonstrated by the sponsors of this draft resolution in accommodating several amendments addressing the concerns not only of Member States, but also of the Government of Iraq. My delegation regrets, however, that this draft resolution falls short of our expectations. We respect the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, which are guaranteed under the Charter of the United Nations and which we all espouse. The Indonesian delegation would therefore like to emphasize that these fundamental principles of international law should be adhered to and respected by all Member States. Although we know that reference to these principles has indeed been incorporated into some of the paragraphs of the draft resolution, we note that its contents are not consistent with these principles.

In this regard, my delegation would like to draw attention to paragraph 6, which still insists that

> "the larger share of the petroleum and petroleum products"

should be shipped via the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline. It is our view that the volume of petroleum shipped through this pipeline, the property of Iraq and Turkey, should be considered a matter of paramount concern. We must respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, and Iraq should therefore be able to decide on the use of its pipelines for transportation and production purposes. Furthermore, we believe that the application of Chapter VII of the Charter should be specifically addressed to peace and security in the region, and should not be applied so as to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraq.

My delegation would also like to express its reservations regarding paragraph 8 (b), describing Iraq's obligation to complement the distribution of humanitarian relief and to provide an amount exceeding 10 per cent of its oil production revenue. Within the context of the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, it would be more appropriate not to mention a specific amount to be allocated for the three northern Governorates within Iraq. This, in our view, would constitute an infringement on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, as it would provide encouragement to separatist movements in the northern part of Iraq.

In order for the draft resolution to achieve the desired result and become an effective tool to rectify the situation, it is imperative not only to properly address the concerns of the issue at hand but also to maintain strict adherence to the basic principles governing relations between sovereign States. Indonesia is of the view that it is a meaningless exercise to adopt resolutions that are not implementable. However good the intentions are, if the fundamental principles are not respected, such measures may not adequately address the matter.

My delegation firmly believes that the humanitarian situation in Iraq should be dealt with in a comprehensive manner, that humanitarian considerations should prevail and that the focus of our efforts should be directed towards ensuring that the requirements for the population are met. It is in this spirit, and with the reservations I have expressed, that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): The humanitarian situation in Iraq is a matter of serious concern to my delegation. The sanctions imposed against Iraq by the United Nations have inevitably had adverse effects on the nutritional and health situation of the people of that country. The primary purpose of the resolution we are about to adopt is to help alleviate the deterioration in this situation and alleviate the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people. It is for this reason that my delegation will join others in voting in favour.

Considerable efforts have been made during the past few days to blunt what some consider to be the rough edges of the draft resolution by taking into account the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq to accommodate Iraq's national sensitivities. It is our sincere hope that the fifth preambular paragraph, subparagraph 8 (a) and paragraphs 10 and 18 have addressed some of the concerns expressed by the Government of Iraq. My delegation would not, of course, be surprised if Iraq does not like the resolution or if it does not agree with everything contained in it, but we hope they will accept the spirit reflected in it and implement it for the benefit of the Iraqi people. Of course, we would be terribly disappointed if the resolution is consigned to the graveyard like resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), because that would not make Council look good.

The third preambular paragraph clearly states that what the Security Council is doing is providing

> "a temporary measure ... for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people"

while their country is still subject to mandatory sanctions. There can be no doubt that this "temporary measure" cannot satisfy the needs of the people of Iraq: the needs of the people of Iraq can be satisfied only when Iraq has satisfied the requirements of the relevant Security Council resolutions. In other words, the ball rests squarely in Iraq's court.

We have noted with satisfaction the full cooperation that the Government of Iraq has extended to the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) in most of the areas in which the Commission has been working. We hope that the remaining issues will be resolved in the not-too-distant future so that Iraq can awake from the nightmare of sanctions.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): I thank you, Mr. President, for your patience and your indulgence.

This draft resolution is not really about oil production, about oil pipelines and oil sales: it is about the alleviation of the sufferings of real people, the unintended victims of the sanctions against Iraq. It is the view of my Government that sanctions are not meant to be punitive of whole populations, but to modify the behaviour of the leadership of a country or of a party whose actions threaten international peace and security.

In drafting the resolution, my delegation wanted the sponsors to be sensitive to some important factors, first of which is the need to respect explicitly the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. Having insisted, rightly, that Iraq must recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbours, Council should not promote policies or take actions that could be construed as undermining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq.

Secondly, care must be taken, in our view, that the resolution before us does not in any way prejudice or detract from the provisions of earlier Security Council resolutions, especially when we note that the timing of the resolution before us coincides with the submission and discussion of the six-monthly report of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM).

We therefore appreciate the fact that some aspects of these concerns have been addressed. In this regard, the third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution is very important to my delegation. We believe, as stated in the text, that this is a "temporary" exercise; one that is long overdue, but which will remain valid until the fulfilment by Iraq of the relevant Security Council resolutions. Such fulfilment would then enable the Council to take further action with regard to the prohibitions referred to in resolution 661 (1990) in accordance with the provisions of resolution 687 (1991), starting with its paragraph 22 — this is in light of our assessment that we are almost at the end of another important chapter in the ongoing efforts to resolve the Iraq/Kuwait crisis, namely, the chapter of disarmament.

My delegation believes that this resolution, unlike resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), is implementable, and hopes that it will receive the effective cooperation of the Government of Iraq, which cooperation is critical to its success. In order to secure that cooperation, all of us worked very hard to accommodate the concerns of Iraq. Of course, my delegation would have wished to obtain further concessions from the sponsors regarding paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, to the effect that no reference would be made to the proportion of the oil to be shipped through any particular pipeline or terminal: this should, in our view, have been left to market forces.

However, my delegation is fully aware that this is not a normal situation: Iraq is in a unique position; it is under sanctions and therefore cannot be given a veto over our decisions. The Council has a responsibility to all the parties that have been affected by the conflict; in this

context, the controls, the checks and the monitoring mechanisms contained in the draft resolution are necessary to ensure transparency and compliance with extant resolutions. In this respect, we will be looking forward to the reports of the Secretary-General provided for in paragraphs 11 and 12 to enable us to take a further look at the operation, with a view on the one hand to fine-tuning it if necessary or, on the other, to terminating it should the authorities in Iraq fail to discharge their obligations in a transparent manner.

While my delegation would like to reaffirm its view that the present draft resolution is a humanitarian one aimed at bringing relief to real people with real needs, it believes that it is not unrelated to the larger issues concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. Hence, I should like to restate the principled position of my Government on the central issues relevant to the objective of restoring peace and stability in the region following the outbreak of the crisis in 1990: in this context, we believe that recognition of the basic principles of the Charter regarding the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the States in the region is non-negotiable; moreover, the use or threat of use of force to settle disputes between States must be rejected unequivocally. My Government has therefore fully supported the resolutions of the Security Council aimed at achieving these objectives. In this regard, we have consistently called upon Iraq to recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait and the international border between them as demarcated by the United Nations Iraq/Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission. The recognition of Kuwait by Iraq was therefore an important milestone.

We have also continued to insist that Iraq must address seriously, and in a transparent manner, the issue of Kuwaiti detainees, missing persons and seized property.

With respect to regional security, we have supported and continue to support Security Council resolutions on the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and the establishment of a credible and effective long-term monitoring system. The progress that has been made so far in this field, as reflected in the latest reports by UNSCOM and the International Atomic Energy Agency, leads us to believe that a substantial part of the disarmament work has indeed been completed.

Meanwhile, we cannot but issue a reminder that Iraq still has a duty to continue to cooperate with UNSCOM in the discharge of its work by providing it with full and verifiable information on all outstanding issues related to weapons of mass destruction. This is vital for the prospects of easing sanctions envisaged under paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991).

In this circumstance, and in light of our objective assessment of the situation and the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions, we reiterate that the present draft resolution is a stop-gap measure necessary to alleviate the immense sufferings of the Iraqi population. It is, therefore, for this overriding reason that we will support the adoption of the draft resolution, and we call on Iraq to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in its implementation in order to ensure that the goal we set out to achieve by this exercise is realized.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): The Security Council meets today to consider a humanitarian problem that, for a long time, has been in the hearts and minds of the international community. In his report to the Security Council in 1991 (S/23006, Annex I), Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, then Executive Delegate of the Secretary-General for the United Nations inter-agency humanitarian mission, painted a gloomy picture of the serious nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi people. Given the day-to-day deterioration in economic conditions, the situation has undoubtedly become worse since the submission of that report: the reports of the humanitarian relief agencies operating in Iraq attest to this fact.

In the light of the historical ties between Iraq and the Omani people, the Sultanate of Oman has been following, and continues to follow, at the highest level and with deep concern the continued deterioration of the humanitarian conditions of the brotherly people of Iraq. The Sultanate of Oman, through its various interventions in the Security Council and during meetings of relevant organizations and agencies, has emphasized the need to address as soon as possible the question of alleviating the suffering of the brotherly people of Iraq.

The draft resolution before us today takes into account the concerns and preoccupations of many Council members. We are convinced that the text before us addresses many of the international community's concerns *vis-à-vis* the humanitarian situation of the Iraqi people. In this vein, the Sultanate of Oman has joined others in co-sponsoring the draft resolution, which, in our opinion, aims principally, at alleviating the suffering of the brotherly people of Iraq at this point in time and until the Security Council is convinced that Iraq has fulfilled

all its obligations, after which the Council will consider favourably all resolutions pertaining to the sanctions imposed on Iraq.

We attach extreme importance to Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, as is reaffirmed in the fifth preambular paragraph of this draft resolution and, what is more, reaffirmed very explicitly and without any shadow of a doubt in operative paragraph 18. We should also like to emphasize that our understanding is based on the fact that the draft resolution does not compromise Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity and, as I have already mentioned, is aimed mainly at addressing the humanitarian situation of the brotherly people of Iraq.

We have studied the report which was submitted by Ambassador Ekeus to the Security Council on 10 April and which points out that Iraq has gone a long way in its cooperation with the Special Commission on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. It also strongly emphasizes the particular importance of the need to encourage Iraq to be more forthcoming with the Special Commission in order to enable it to account for all aspects relating to the programmes of prohibited Iraqi weapons in a more comprehensive manner.

We look forward to seeing Iraq respond to and comply fully with the remaining relevant Security Council resolutions. Meanwhile, we believe that the draft resolution before us provides the necessary financial resources for the exceptionally urgent humanitarian needs and has no linkage whatsoever with any other questions, including the implementation of paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991), on the total lifting of the sanctions imposed on Iraq.

While we respect the views of the Iraqi Government *vis-à-vis* the draft resolution, we urge that Government to consider it positively, for it provides in the meantime the most appropriate mechanism for alleviating the suffering of the Iraqi people and, furthermore, it will pave the way to building confidence between the Security Council and the Government of Iraq.

We hope that Iraq will soon be in a position to fulfil its obligations in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, so that there will be no need for this mechanism and so that Iraq may resume its regional and international role in the peaceful and positive manner that would enable the brotherly people of Iraq to overcome the years of hardship and to make up for their losses in the domain of economic and social development.

The Council's adoption of this draft resolution reflects the concern of the international community *vis-à-vis* the general situation in Iraq. Therefore, we look forward to seeing it expeditiously implemented by all concerned.

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to convey my Government's sincere thanks to the other sponsors of the draft resolution and also to the other Council members for their cooperation and the relentless efforts they have exerted to come up with the draft resolution as it now stands. From such cooperation we have proved today the earnest commitment of the members of the Council and the international community to the effort to alleviate the suffering and pain of the brotherly people of Iraq.

The President: I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1995/292.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 986 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council has just adopted — unanimously — resolution 986 (1995), relating to the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. This resolution, which constitutes an exception to the sanctions regime to which Iraq is subjected, has a humanitarian objective: it is designed to alleviate the humanitarian situation of all the Iraqi people.

It is worthwhile recalling in this context that the Republic of Iraq has been subjected for almost five years now to a set of sanctions imposed by the international community as a consequence of its invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and its subsequent defiance of the entire international community. This sanctions regime is still in

force because Iraq has not totally complied with its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions.

The Argentine Republic has for some months now been expressing in the Security Council its concern over the humanitarian situation of the people of Iraq and, consequently, the need to seek to correct the situation.

Therefore, my delegation proposed at the appropriate time the elaboration of a temporary, simple and flexible regime to replace the regime established under resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which certainly had the same purpose but which, for various reasons, have never been implemented by the Government of Iraq.

The present resolution, prepared first by the other co-sponsoring countries and then with the support of the entire Council, does nothing, however, that is detrimental to Iraq's eventual full compliance with all its obligations, which would lead to the lifting of the sanctions. Its objective is to offer Iraq a flexible tool that would enable it to improve the precarious humanitarian situation of its people. The regime we are establishing here can in no way be interpreted as harmful to Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It allows Iraq to export $1 billion every three months, of which 30 per cent is earmarked for the Compensation Fund and the remainder for an account upon which Iraq will be able to draw, through a plan that must be worked out, for imports of a humanitarian character — foodstuffs, medicine and so forth — for its people.

This regime requires for its implementation close cooperation between the Government of Iraq and the Secretary-General. None the less, efforts have been made to simplify it as far as possible without compromising the objective being pursued by the international community through the sanctions regime.

This decision by the Security Council follows a growing trend in recent months to try to lessen the sufferings of the civilian populations of countries under sanctions. The Secretary-General, in his report "Supplement to an Agenda for Peace" (S/1995/1), describes sanctions' unintended effects.

Previously, in the cases of the sanctions regimes established against Haiti and the former Yugoslavia, efforts were made, and are still being made in the second of these cases, to lessen the humanitarian impact of the sanctions. The accumulated experience is thus being taken into account and this important instrument provided by the United Nations Charter within the framework of collective security is being strengthened.

What we are beginning today is both a new course and a clear opportunity for Iraq to continue rebuilding its credibility, for whose destruction the Iraqi regime has been the sole responsible party. Strictly speaking, it should be recognized that this course began when Iraq, at the urging of this Council and as a consequence of the Council's actions, recently recognized, expressly and formally, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait and the border separating Iraq from that other independent nation.

When one emerges from a past without a future, the difficulties are clear but need not be insurmountable. Now is the time for moderation, but also for absolute realism and, as is frequently the case, a dose of patience. First and foremost it is time for action, since the objective of living in peace presupposes a responsible attitude, which is not nourished by rantings.

In a word, confidence is based on conduct and can therefore be built only on consistency, respect, tolerance and, of course, time. The corollary is that it can be destroyed by threats, intolerance, aggressiveness or overweening pride. In other words, confidence is a picture that is built up step by step with stability, on the basis of everyday conduct.

For Iraq, the priority of the hour should therefore be to continue working — consistently — to rebuild its credibility, to become predictable once again. Frankly, we hope that this will happen, because we sincerely hope and desire that Iraq, by triumphing over adversity and the trauma of the recent past, will be able to rejoin the international community.

This is a world that, thank God, wants to live in peace. To do so, it must forgo threats and build its future on the tireless search for consensus. In the meantime, the Council has, by making available to Iraq mechanisms designed to meet the basic humanitarian needs of its people, assumed in full awareness and in deed the responsibilities incumbent on it.

The responsibility for implementing those mechanisms now rests with the Iraqi authorities, by acting in cooperation with the Secretary-General and with the United Nations officials whom this Council has designated. The exceptional regime the Council has approved today is of course addressed to all Iraqis,

without exceptions or exclusions, and including, obviously, the minorities. Otherwise, it would be neither fair nor just.

It is therefore the Council's intention to monitor the situation closely to ensure that there are no undue delays on the practical level. In addition, however, the Secretariat is expressly entrusted with supplementing as necessary the actions of the Iraqi authorities in such a way as to ensure efficiency in the implementation of the humanitarian objective motivating the Council.

My delegation, like all delegations concerned at the situation of the Iraqi people, has had the honour to be the initiator of this resolution. In our work, we have had invaluable contributions from all members of the Council without exception, but we should like to make special mention of the contributions we received from the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, Oman and Rwanda, with whom we have worked together since the outset, and with whom we share absolutely identical views.

In the final stage of the talks which culminated in the text we have adopted today, we should like to express our special recognition for the effective and open nature of the efforts and understanding of the delegation of France, which transcended the few differences between us. This, in a particularly complex issue, is another result of the tireless work of this body, which is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, and of which the Republic of Argentina once more forms a part.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Argentina, the United States, the United Kingdom and Oman began work on this resolution at the specific request of a number of Arab, non-aligned and European States. We shared a common concern about the unnecessary humanitarian suffering of the Iraqi people caused by the Iraqi Government's policies, particularly its refusal to implement the resolutions of the Security Council. We agreed to make a good-faith effort to draft a plan that Iraq would have no reason to reject.

We decided that we must be guided by the following principles. Firstly, the purpose of the resolution is to address humanitarian needs, not to meet political or other extraneous objectives. Secondly, this resolution is not an easing or lifting of sanctions, but an exception to the sanctions regime for a specified purpose. Thirdly, we wanted a greatly simplified resolution, building on both the positive and negative lessons from resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) and other experiences. Finally, against the desire for simplification, we had to balance the need to take full account of the fact that Iraq had not proven trustworthy in implementing previous resolutions, and had consistently sought to turn innocent-sounding phrases into excuses for non-compliance.

We approached the task of drafting the new by returning to the old, and examined carefully the complete record of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). We looked carefully at all the reasons Iraq gave at that time to justify its refusal to implement that plan. We also reviewed the record of negotiations between Iraq and Turkey in 1994, when Council members considered a plan, at first supported by Iraq, to export oil through the Turkish pipeline and use the proceeds for humanitarian purposes. Throughout our drafting, we made every effort to understand every concern expressed by Iraq, and we addressed those concerns in a serious and open-minded way.

While we addressed every issue Iraq had raised before, we never underestimated Iraq's ability to generate dozens of new objections and excuses. We realized from the beginning that Iraq would never say in advance of the vote that it accepted this plan, just as it has never accepted any Council resolution before or at the time of its passage. We note that, eventually, Iraq has found it in its interest to accept, and on occasion even implement, several Council resolutions. We hope that Iraq's current position, taken for the sake of posturing and negotiations, will not be the same as its final position, taken on the basis of a calm measurement of the benefits this resolution offers to the Iraqi people.

Let me address just some of the arguments that some delegations have advanced on behalf of Iraq. First, I reaffirm here, as we reaffirm in the resolution, my Government's unchanging support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. But I must note that the greatest threat to the territorial integrity of Iraq is Saddam Hussein. His is the only Government in history to have used weapons of mass destruction against its own citizens. His is the Government that has imposed an economic and electricity blockade against one section of his country. Doubts about Iraq's territorial integrity, and the need to make special arrangements to provide for humanitarian needs in northern Iraq, arise only because of the actions of the Iraqi Government.

The Council has other business before it with regard to Iraq, as we wait with impatience for a change in Iraq's attitude and its compliance with all the Council's

resolutions. Today's resolution, however, does not prejudge in any way subsequent actions the Council may take in this regard. The United States believes that Iraq's compliance with all the Security Council's resolutions is the only way in which it will prove to the international community that its intentions are peaceful. Then, and only then, can this Council move to modify the sanctions regime. This resolution today is technical, not political, and we have resisted efforts by Iraq and others to insert political provisions into the resolution.

Our work on this new resolution is based on our humanitarian concern that the people of Iraq are suffering as a result of the policies of their Government. We believe sanctions are a valuable tool for the Security Council to use when dealing with rogue States that refuse to live peaceably with their neighbours. But we have always shared the concern expressed by so many here that sanctions not strike an unintended target. We believe we have found exactly the right compromise here — not a lifting of the sanctions on the Iraqi regime, but a humanitarian exception to the sanctions for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

Even before the passage of this resolution, and even before the passage of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), this Council has always demonstrated that it has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. The Council has tried to assure that the people of Iraq had access to basic humanitarian goods, and has never prohibited the shipment of food and medicines. The Council and Member States have supported the United Nations Inter-Agency Humanitarian Programme, which operates throughout Iraq.

We want the Government of Iraq to accept and implement this resolution. The co-sponsors made extraordinary efforts, even before entering a phase of flexible and productive cooperation with other members of the Council, to craft a text that would address Iraq's concerns. If it still refuses to implement it, it will only be because the Government of Iraq does not know how to take "Yes" for an answer.

The Government of Iraq already has at its disposal the means to lift the sanctions: compliance with the Council's resolutions. It declines to exercise this option. If it refuses to implement this resolution, it will be clear for all to see, and especially to the Iraqi people, that the blame for the suffering of the people of Iraq rests not with the Security Council, but with the Government in Baghdad.

Let me stress that that is not the outcome we desire. We call on Iraq to take its time, study this resolution with an open mind, and decide to accept it and implement it. The Council has once again given Baghdad the opportunity to act in the best interests of its citizens. For their sake, we urge the Government of Iraq to take advantage of this chance.

In closing, let me make it clear that this resolution would not be necessary, and the Iraqi people would not be suffering, if Iraq's Government were not driven by ruthless ambition. Let us not forget that this is a Government that has invaded its neighbour, supported terrorism, built weapons of mass destruction and continues to threaten the stability of the Persian Gulf. It is only when the regime changes its underlying objectives that the resolutions will no longer be necessary and the Iraqi people will no longer be suffering.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): The aim of the co-sponsors of this resolution is purely humanitarian; no more and no less. We have devised a system which could substantially alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people, with whom we have never had any quarrel. My Government has been concerned about the humanitarian situation in Iraq since 1991, when the Council adopted resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which offered Iraq the possibility of exporting oil in exchange for humanitarian supplies. We deeply regret the refusal of the Government of Iraq to operate that scheme. It bears a heavy responsibility for the suffering of its people.

Our determination to do something about this major humanitarian problem led us to see whether there were ways in which we could improve the earlier scheme. In drafting this resolution we took careful account of the concerns expressed by the Government of Iraq during the abortive negotiations they held with the United Nations Secretariat on implementing resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). We have also listened carefully to views expressed by other Council members. The text we have just adopted represents a serious attempt to meet those concerns. The scheme it establishes is more generous and more flexible than the earlier arrangements provided for in resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991).

Iraq will remain subject to a regime of sanctions imposed under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter until it complies fully with all the Security Council's relevant resolutions. That is the reason for the detailed provisions of this resolution. That is why we have provided for independent inspection agents to ensure that Iraq does not export more oil than it is entitled to under the provisions of this resolution and does not under-price

it. That is why we have insisted that all the proceeds of the oil sales should be deposited in an escrow account. That is why we have asked the Secretary-General to ensure that there is equitable distribution of the humanitarian assistance to all the Iraqi people.

We have been compelled in this resolution to allocate between $130 million and $150 million to be spent in the three northern Governorates of Iraq by the United Nations. This is not because the Security Council does not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq. We do respect Iraq's sovereignty and its territorial integrity, even if Iraq itself has not always been so respectful of its obligations in this respect towards its neighbours; and we have made our respect for those principles clear in this resolution. But it is Iraq itself that imposes an economic blockade against its three northern Governorates. The provision for the North is simply intended to ensure that the inhabitants of the three northern Governorates receive an equitable share of the humanitarian goods to be purchased with the proceeds of the oil sales. It is not politically motivated. It is simply intended to ensure that all Iraqis, and not just some of them, benefit from the sale of oil provided for in this resolution.

We have also made it clear that this resolution is a temporary measure. It is not intended to substitute for the action that will be taken on sanctions when Iraq complies with all its obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions. The recent reports of the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency make it clear that such compliance by Iraq with the provisions of the Council's resolutions relating to weapons of mass destruction is not just round the corner. The continuing problems over the missing Kuwaiti and other nationals, over the return of Kuwaiti property and over Iraq's repressive record on human rights demonstrate very clearly that Iraq is still far from fulfilling the conditions that could justify lifting sanctions: all the more reason, therefore, for the Council not to ignore the suffering of the Iraqi people.

It is our earnest hope that Iraq will decide to cooperate in the implementation of this resolution. It is a reasonable and workable scheme. It should enable Iraq to import substantial amounts of food, medicines and other humanitarian goods to meet the needs of its people. But in case there are shortcomings we have provided for a review of all aspects of the scheme just three months after it starts. If the Secretary-General reports that there are problems — for example, that the amount of money available for humanitarian relief is insufficient, or that the Iraqi oil industry is incapable of exporting enough oil to generate the revenues provided for in this resolution — we will be ready to look again at the details of the scheme and to consider making the appropriate adjustments. We now look to Iraq to cooperate in this scheme's implementation. If it fails to do so, it will have demonstrated once again its lack of concern for the welfare of its own people.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): Resolution 986 (1995), which we have just adopted, is an important text. It took a long time to draft because several partially contradictory approaches had to be reconciled. The Council wisely gave itself the time to overcome these difficulties. My delegation was able to join in approving this text for the three following reasons: it responds to a serious humanitarian situation; it respects Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity; and it does not prejudice decisions the Council will take towards reducing or lifting the sanctions once the necessary conditions have been met.

France believes that sanctions are not a punishment but, rather, are designed to induce a State to behave in a certain way. The effects of sanctions on the peoples must therefore be attenuated as much as possible. This consideration led my delegation as early as 1991 to initiate texts that would become resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). The negotiations for their implementation never came to fruition. The lessons from this experience had to be drawn to ensure that the new provisions could serve effectively to bring relief to the Iraqi people.

We are all aware that the humanitarian situation in Iraq has worsened over the past few years. Nevertheless, we do not possess an exhaustive analysis enabling us to determine precisely the extent of the needs. There is no doubt, however, that they are great. The testimony of non-governmental organizations and the reports of the United Nations institutions that are now working in that country have amply shown this.

Without going into the details of the resolution, I note with particular interest that the Council has chosen to revise the general conditions for its implementation three months after the start of its entry into force. It will do so on the basis of a report from the Secretary-General, which should inform it whether the sums which Iraq is authorized to use are large enough to cover the needs of the people and whether the mechanisms that have been provided for suffice to enable Iraq to make use

of these sums. The Council will thereby be assured that the text meets the objectives it has set for itself.

Unflagging attention has been paid to the matter of respect for Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The current unrest in the north of the country lends this question particular importance. Everyone knows that peace and security in the region would be seriously and permanently affected if Iraq's territorial integrity were threatened. It was therefore essential that no provision of this resolution seem to encourage in any way the country's dismemberment.

Resolution 986 (1995) affirms the Council's dedication to Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Its penultimate paragraph, moreover, specifies that none of its provisions should be construed as infringing this sovereignty and territorial integrity. In addition, the Council has taken care to ensure that the constraints surrounding the derogations of the trade embargo should be implemented with respect for the prerogatives and legitimate interests of the Iraqi State.

Finally, my delegation stresses that the provisions of this resolution do not affect the implementation, when the time comes, of paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991), or of the other texts relating to the reduction or lifting of the sanctions.

On this subject, I would like to point out that the derogations introduced in resolution 986 (1995) are regarded as a temporary measure, intended to disappear when the conditions have been met that would authorize the Council to take new decisions regarding the prohibitions to which Iraq is now subjected. It is important, moreover, that several paragraphs specify that the regime established is valid solely within the framework of the arrangements of this resolution.

My delegation invites the Secretary-General to begin the necessary consultations and negotiations as soon as possible, and first of all with the Iraqi Government, so that this resolution may begin to produce its effects without delay, and so that the Iraqi peoples may begin to feel its benefits in the coming weeks.

We share the very sound opinion that the decisions taken by the Council for humanitarian reasons will serve no purpose without the cooperation of the Government of Iraq. I welcome the constructive attitude of the Iraqi delegation, which has shown wisdom and realism in its dialogue with the initiators of this text. I also thank the co-sponsors, and above all Argentina, for having heeded the appeals addressed to them and for having been receptive to the comments that were made. I express the hope that the Government of Iraq will continue to take this attitude, so that the suffering of its people can begin to decrease, until the Council is in a position to consider a radical modification of the sanctions regime.

Mr. Rudolph (Germany): The Security Council was forced to impose a sanctions regime over Iraq. The latest report of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the discussion we had yesterday with its Executive Chairman, Ambassador Ekeus, have made it abundantly clear that it is unfortunately not yet possible to lift this regime. My delegation has stated more than once that only after the full compliance of the Government of Iraq with all its obligations, including those contained in resolution 687 (1991), will the Council be able to consider lifting the sanctions in accordance with operative paragraph 22 of that resolution.

In view of the fact that the sanctions regime has to remain in effect, the resolution just adopted by the Council is a very important document. It opens new opportunities for the benefit of the Iraqi population. Its scope is much wider than that of the previous Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which, because of Iraq's refusal, never became effective.

We are aware of the plight of the innocent civilian population of Iraq. The implementation of the resolution just adopted can ensure the supply and availability of medicines, health supplies, foodstuffs and materials for essential civilian needs. We therefore appeal to the Government of Iraq to actively cooperate in implementing this resolution and to make the supplies thus attained available throughout the country to the entire population. For its benefit, the speedy implementation of the resolution is necessary. This should be all the more possible for the Government of Iraq since the resolution is in conformity with Iraq's legitimate interests, especially its interest in maintaining its territorial integrity.

It must be understood that the provisions of this resolution constitute only temporary measures, as stated in its third preambular paragraph. The resolution aims at improving the living conditions of the entire population of Iraq. The action taken by the Council by adopting this resolution cannot, however, replace in any way what is necessary on the part of the Government of Iraq, namely, strict and complete compliance with the relevant Security

Council resolutions, including resolution 687 (1991) of 8 April 1991. While we hope that through our action today we are making a contribution towards alleviating the hardship faced by the innocent people of Iraq, we urge the Iraqi leadership to do its part so that the Council will be able to finally lift the sanctions.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Russia is extremely concerned over the acute humanitarian situation in Iraq, which has reached the critical mark because of the effects of sanctions, and we believe that those sanctions must be eased in response to the constructive steps already taken by Iraq, so motivating Baghdad to comply fully with the resolutions of the Security Council. We believe that it is necessary for urgent and effective measures to be taken to ease sanctions and alleviate the situation of the Iraqi population. With this in mind, our delegation played an active part in the elaboration of the resolution that has just been unanimously adopted by attempting to ensure that it really achieves its humanitarian objective. For it to do so, the resolution must not be a mere instrument of propaganda; rather, it must be implementable, which it can be only with the cooperation of the Iraqi Government.

This was also the premise underlying our work with the sponsors of the resolution, the other members of the Security Council, and also Iraq. Together with a large group of delegations, we proposed specific amendments to the sponsors, and we note with satisfaction that, as a result of consultations, we managed to have included provisions ensuring that its noble objectives will be attained, and this made it possible for us to vote in favour of the resolution. It is of no small importance that the resolution affirms the obligation of all States to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq and makes provision for the Government of Iraq to participate in agreeing specific ways of implementing this act of humanitarian relief. The text clearly states that the measures proposed for Iraq are temporary and do not substitute for any future agreement to lift the oil embargo against Iraq under the terms of paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991), once Baghdad has fulfilled the disarmament requirements imposed on it by the Security Council. We expect that if Iraq continues its constructive cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission, it will in the near future enable us to solve this problem. We also note the constructive position taken by the delegation of Iraq during the negotiations on the text of the resolution adopted today. We hope that this is yet another sign of Baghdad's policy as regards cooperation with the Security Council on all relevant issues.

We feel that through the work carried out we were able to improve the text of the resolution substantially. Unfortunately, it did not prove possible to solve all the problems. This had to do primarily with the fact that the principles of Iraq's sovereignty that are reaffirmed in the resolution are not always backed up by specific procedures for giving practical effect to those principles, in particular in respect of Iraq's northern provinces, where the humanitarian situation is deteriorating and the fault is not only Baghdad's.

A number of the resolution's provisions, paragraph 6 in particular, touch on issues in the bilateral relations between Iraq and Turkey, which issues should be resolved within that framework.

We hope that these remaining problems will be satisfactorily settled during the forthcoming contacts between the Secretary-General and the Government of Iraq, which are provided for in the resolution. In order to begin the implementation of the resolution as soon as possible, we urge the Secretary-General to negotiate generally acceptable procedures so that the resolution can really be effective and not remain so much paper, which, unfortunately, has happened with previous Security Council resolutions on this matter. At the same time, we call on Iraq to cooperate constructively with the Secretary-General in order to ensure that this useful initiative is given practical effect.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Czech Republic.

Resolution 986 (1995) is of tremendous importance for several reasons — first and foremost because it is a humanitarian resolution aimed at providing for the essential humanitarian needs of the Iraqi population. As a consequence of actions taken by its leaders, Iraq has been subject to a variety of United Nations sanctions. It was never the intention of the Security Council that the poorest, most vulnerable strata of the Iraqi public should suffer unduly under these sanctions. Many have felt that if they do suffer, it is a result of their leaders' rather callous attitude towards the distribution of wealth in the country. With this resolution, however, the Security Council is demonstrating very clearly that it has not forgotten the hard-pressed ordinary people of Iraq and that it is ready to go one last mile in order to provide mechanisms that could alleviate their troubles.

We especially appreciate in this context the new wording of paragraph 8, in which the ordering of the

distribution of payments clearly shows the priority accorded the humanitarian aspect and which also satisfactorily formulates the manner in which the aid will be distributed all over Iraq, including the northern part of the country.

Nevertheless, the Security Council can still only alleviate, not resolve the humanitarian situation in Iraq. Resolving it in all its aspects still depends on the activities of Iraq's leadership itself, on how completely and how expeditiously it responds to all the requirements of previous Security Council resolutions that are still outstanding.

In this respect, the second important aspect of this resolution comes into play: it sends a clear signal to the Government of Iraq that the Security Council's position is not unjust or politically prejudiced. In this resolution, Iraq should see some reassurance that the same approach will be taken by the Council on other issues relating to that country. Most especially, by adopting resolution 986 (1995) we are not prejudging further developments that in the future might, and hopefully will, lead to the modification of the sanctions regime.

We note with particular satisfaction that the resolution does not preclude the implementation of paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991) and that it reaffirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, something my delegation has frequently emphasized in this Chamber.

In addition to its importance for Iraq, however, this resolution has a far broader significance. Doubts are sometimes cast on the entire philosophy of sanctions, precisely because many observers feel that their burden falls unjustly and preponderantly on weaker strata of the targeted country's population. This resolution, if its provisions turn out in practice to have the effect we expect, may show a way of refining the generally blunt instrument of sanctions for other situations around the world.

When, as President of the Security Council, I met earlier this week with His Excellency Mr. Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, I told him that I would hope and pray that the draft we were working on would be adopted unanimously and that the Iraqi authorities would then actually make use of it. Resolution 986 (1995) has just now been adopted unanimously, and we will be anxiously awaiting developments in the next few weeks that would indicate the position of the Iraqi authorities for, in fact, the spigot to the oil that is to be piped is, in the last analysis, in Iraqi hands, and it is now purely an Iraqi decision whether this resolution remains a dead letter or whether it is filled with real meaning.

In conclusion, let me express my delegation's admiration and thanks to all those who worked on the final text: seldom has the Council seen such earnest, sincere and intensive cooperation between parties with different points of view result in a unanimously adopted resolution, and I wish to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Cárdenas of Argentina, whose delegation initiated the work on it. It is his particular combination of expertise in diplomacy, the law, banking and the oil industry, combined with his personal tenacity and sincerity which, we feel, had a lot to do with today's success.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.